

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01
ACDA-07 IO-13 AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03
CIEP-01 STR-04 TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 /106 W
-----141847Z 045188 /65

R 141700Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4725
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 00815

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB GW US UK FR UR
SUBJECT: BERLIN AND THE EC: BRITISH THOUGHTS ON
HANDLING THE DISPUTE WITH THE SOVIETS

REFS: (A) BONN 571; (B) BONN 21268 (76);
(C) 76 SECTO 32047; (D) 76 BONN 21255
(E) 76 BONN 19091

BEGIN SUMMARY. UK DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY HIBBERT HAS
HAD SECOND THOUGHTS ON THE TACTICAL APPROACH
AGREED UPON AT THE DECEMBER 8 QUADRIpartite MEETING FOR
ATTEMPTING TO WORK OUT WITH THE SOVIETS THE PROBLEMS IN
BERLIN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE EC. HE DOUBTS THAT THE
CHOICE WILL BE OURS AS TO WHETHER THE BATTLE IS TO BE
FOUGHT OVER THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ISSUE, RATHER THAN
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EC-CEMA NEGOTIATIONS. AS FOR THE
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LATTER, HE BELIEVES WE SHOULD DETERMINE THE EXTENT TO
WHICH BERLIN WOULD BE HARMED BY LESS THAN FULL INCLUSION.
HIBBERT IS ALSO NOW QUESTIONING THE WISDOM OF RAISING THE
BERLIN ISSUE EARLY IN THE EC-CEMA NEGOTIATIONS. THE UK
BONN GROUP REP HAS NOT YET PASSED THESE VIEWS ON TO THE
FRG, AS HE IS AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS ON THE EXTENT TO
WHICH HIBBERT'S SECOND THOUGHTS MAY AFFECT THE UK

POSITION ON THE DRAFT ALLIED REPLY TO THE NOVEMBER 16
SOVIET DEMARCHE ON THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ISSUE.
END SUMMARY.

1. UK BONN GROUP REP (HITCH) INFORMED US AND FRENCH
REPS, IN JANUARY 10 TRIPARTITE MEETING, THAT HE HAS
RECEIVED A GENERAL INSTRUCTION FROM LONDON ON HOW THE
EC-BERLIN PROBLEM SHOULD BE APPROACHED. THE BROAD
OUTLINE IS CONTAINED IN A FIVE-PAGE LETTER FROM FCO
DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY HIBBERT. THE LETTER DID NOT
CONTAIN DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS ON THE AD REF ALLIED
RESPONSE (REF B) TO THE NOVEMBER 16 SOVIET DEMARCHE ON
THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ISSUE, BUT HITCH EXPECTS SUCH
INSTRUCTIONS MOMENTARILY. HE FEELS THAT THE GENERAL
COMMENTS ON THE BERLIN-EC PROBLEM BY HIBBERT PROVIDE A
FORETASTE OF POSSIBLE CHANGES IN THE TEXT WHICH
HIBBERT MAY REQUEST.

2. HIBBERT BEGAN BY SUGGESTING THAT THE BONN GROUP
SHOULD GET ON WITH INVITING EC EXPERTS FROM BRUSSELS
FOR CONSULTATIONS ON BERLIN MATTERS, AS HAD BEEN AGREED
IN THE DECEMBER 8 QUADRIpartite MEETING (REF C)..
HE THEN EXPRESSED WHAT AMOUNTED TO SECOND THOUGHTS ON
THE TACTICAL APPROACH AGREED TO BY SENIOR OFFICIALS ON
THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 8, AS REPORTED TO MINISTERS
AT THE QUADRIpartite DINNER THAT EVENING (PARAGRAPH
11, REF E).

3. IT HAD ESSENTIALLY BEEN A VAN WELL IDEA, HIBBERT
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SAID, THAT WE SHOULD AVOID FIGHTING THE EC BATTLE WITH
THE SOVIETS ON THE ISSUE OF PERMITTING CONTINUED
BERLIN REPRESENTATION IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, BUT
SHOULD SAVE OUR FIRE FOR THE PROPOSED EC-CEMA
AGREEMENT, WHERE THE SOVIETS WOULD BE MORE IN THE ROLE
OF DEMANDEUR. HIS REFLECTIONS ON THE BRUSSELS
QUADRIpartite DISCUSSIONS CONTAINED FOUR MAIN POINTS,
AS SUMMARIZED BY HITCH:

-- HIBBERT WONDERS TO WHAT EXTENT THE ALLIES AND
THE FRG ARE REALLY IN A POSITION TO CHOOSE THE BATTLE-
GROUND FOR A SHOWDOWN WITH THE SOVIETS OVER BERLIN'S
RELATIONSHIP TO THE EC. THE BATTLE ON THE EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT HAS ALREADY BEEN JOINED ON THE BASIS OF
THE TWO SOVIET PROTESTS, AND IT WILL BE GIVEN FRESH
IMPETUS WHEN THE FRG ENACTS ITS LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTING
THE EC AGREEMENT ON DIRECT ELECTIONS. ON THE OTHER
HAND, THE EC-CEMA NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT REALLY VERY FAR
ALONG.

-- HIBBERT DOUBTS THAT THE USSR WILL REALLY BE
THE DEMANDEUR IN EC-CEMA NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT IT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 00815

WOULD THUS BE EASIER TO WRING OUT OF THEM A TACIT
RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMACY OF THE BERLIN-EC
RELATIONSHIP IN THAT ARENA. IN HIS VIEW, IT WOULD
BE AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE EC IF ALL FUTURE
AGREEMENTS WERE BLOCKED BY A BERLIN PROBLEM.

-- HIBBERT BELIEVES WE SHOULD ESTABLISH WHAT
PRACTICAL BENEFITS BERLIN WOULD FOREGO IF IT WERE
EXCLUDED FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EC-CEMA AGREEMENTS.
THIS IS A POINT WHICH SHOULD BE DISCUSSED BY THE BONN
GROUP AND EC EXPERTS. HE NOTED THAT THE GERMANS HAVE
ALWAYS INSISTED THAT INTERZONAL TRADE SHOULD IN ANY
CASE BE EXCLUDED FROM EC-CEMA ARRANGEMENTS.

-- FINALLY, HIBBERT HAS DOUBTS ABOUT THE MERITS OF

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THE VAN WELL PROPOSAL FOR GIVING AN INTERPRETIVE STATEMENT TO THE SOVIETS ON BERLIN'S INCLUSION IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ANY EC-CEMA AGREEMENTS AT AN EARLY STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO RISK BLOCKING ALL NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. IN HIS VIEW, WE MUST ALLOW AMBIGUITY ABOUT THAT POINT TO PREVAIL.

4. AFTER HITCH'S REMARKS, FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU) ASKED WHAT EFFECT THE BRITISH RETHINKING WOULD HAVE ON THE AD REF REPLY TO THE NOVEMBER 16 SOVIET PROTEST. HITCH RESPONDED THAT HE HAD FIRST THOUGHT IT WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT. NOW HE HAD RECEIVED INDICATIONS THAT LONDON (AS REPORTED BRIEFLY IN REF A) MAY WANT SOMETHING FULLER ALONG THE LINES OF THE EARLY US DRAFT, CONCERNING THE ORIGIN AND EXTENT OF ALLIED RIGHTS IN BERLIN.

5. COMMENT: WE WILL NOT HAVE A DEFINITIVE ANSWER TO BOISSIEU'S QUESTION UNTIL THE DETAILED UK INSTRUCTIONS ON THE DRAFT ITSELF ARRIVE. THUS, WE WOULD SUSPECT THAT HITCH DECIDED TO AIR HIBBERT'S GENERAL VIEWS TRIPARTITELY RATHER THAN IN THE FULL BONN GROUP, WHERE THEY CAN BE PREDICTED (REFS D AND E) TO IGNITE THE GERMANS. UNLESS THE GERMANS THEMSELVES HAVE BEGUN TO RETHINK THE WISDOM OF FORCING THE BERLIN ISSUE EARLY IN THE EC-CEMA NEGOTIATIONS, THEY WILL BE PARTICULARLY UNHAPPY WITH THIS INDICATION THAT THE BRITISH ARE COMING AROUND TO THE FRENCH POSITION ON THAT POINT. THEY WILL ALSO BE DISTURBED BY THE INTIMATION THAT THE UK MIGHT BE PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE SOMETHING LESS THAN FULL INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN AN EC-CEMA AGREEMENT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS, ELECTIONS, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ORGS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 14-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN00815
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770015-0103
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770153/aaaabtqr.tel
Line Count: 209
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 94fa04da-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BONN 571, 77 BONN 21268, 76 SECTO 32047, 76 BONN 21255, 76 BONN 19091
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3600733
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BERLIN AND THE EC: BRITISH THOUGHTS ON HANDLING THE DISPUTE WITH THE SOVIETS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GE, US, UK, FR, UR, EEC, EP, CEMA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbcc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/94fa04da-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009